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17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

A review of the problems and progress of integration in the New York City school system since 1955 is presented. The number of schools housing a majority of Negro and Puerto Rican students has increased at all levels of education. The basic fact that the Public Education Association study uncovered regarding achievement data was that the longer the Negro and Puerto Rican students continued in school, the lower their achievement levels fell. Factors responsible for this are not clear. A major unsolved problem is the reluctance of new teachers to accept appointments or assignments in schools they regard as difficult. Study of the present new building program indicates that, unless and until there is an extensive upgrading of minority school facilities, there can be no progress toward equality in school facilities. It is recommended that the board prepare a master plan of desegregation and assume full responsibility for the assignment of pupils and teachers for the execution of the master plan. Specific recommendations were made in the areas of academic achievement, physical facilities, school staffing and personnel, zoning and integration, education stimulation program, and school-community relations.

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tionally been involved in civil rights efforts and civic progress.

There is now a "wait and see" attitude on the part of many organizations in Philadelphia. The board was scheduled to submit a progress report to the Federal Judge in March, 1964. The subcommittees of the Special Board Committee are to submit reports to the full board by June, 1964. In the meantime, there are rumblings of discontent in the Negro community. There is justifiable suspicion and distrust of committees and reports. The resignation of four citizens (including the writer) from one of the advisory sub-committees and little indication of substantial progress being made in other sub-committees do not bode well for the possibility of a clearly-defined, forthright integration program by June, 1964. It is our hope that the Council will effectively meet the challenge of this phase of the integration movement. If it does, and there are indications that it may, our story will, indeed, become unique.

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A DECADE OF NEW YORK CHANGES

New York Urban League

All material is taken from A Study of the Problems of Integration in New York City Public Schools Since 1955 *(New York: Urban League of Greater New York, December, 1963).*

This study is intended to review the problems and progress of what has happened on the integration scene in the New York City school system since 1955. That year the study titled *The Status of Negro and Puerto Rican Children and Youth in the Public Schools,* published by the Public Education Association, appeared. To date, no similar report has been released.

We have compared two types of schools in New York City described below:

1. Group "Y" schools on the elementary level composed 90% or more continental white students and on the junior high level, composed of 85% or more continental white students.

2. Group "X" schools on the elementary level composed of 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students and on the junior high level

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composed of 85% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students.

The following summary is a sampling of data collected:

I. *Number of schools housing a majority of Negro and Puerto Rican students*

A. Since 1955 the number of elementary schools with enrollments of 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students increased from 42 to 118.

B. During this same period, the number of junior high schools with enrollments of 85% or more Negroes and Puerto Ricans increased from 9 to 29.

C. One hundred and ninety-three of the elementary schools house 80% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students while 42 junior high schools enroll 75% or more Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

D. There are presently 235 elementary schools and 55 junior high schools with an ethnic balance of more than 50% Negro and Puerto Rican students.

II. *Achievement Levels*

The basic fact that the Public Education Association study uncovered, regarding achievement data, was that the longer the Negro and Puerto Rican students continued in school ,the lower their achievement level fell. That this is due to many factors both inside the school and out is clear. However, a study of the current achievement data reveals the same trend as noted below:

	Group X Norms		Group Y Norms	
	1955	1962	1955	1962
3rd Grade	2.5	2.9	3.7	4.4
6th Grade	4.7	4.8	6.9	7.9
8th Grade	6.0	6.1	8.4	9.6

The tables above show clearly that the gain of both groups was very close on the third grade level, just under a half-grade gain for the X group and just over a half-grade gain for the Y group. However, at the sixth grade level, the X group barely improved from 4.7 to 4.8, while the Y group improved a full grade from 6.9 to 7.9. Again at the 8th grade level the X group shows little if any gain, 6.0 to 6.1, and the Y group not only improved but went over the full grade improvement level, 8.4 to 9.6.

When viewed from a total perspective, the figures show the X schools as being slightly more than a grade behind on the third grade level both in 1955 and in 1962. The sixth grade figures show that in 1955 the X schools were a little over two grades behind and in 1962 were over three grades in back of the Y schools. The eighth grade data from 1955 show the X schools almost 2½ grades behind and in 1962 exactly 3½ grades behind the average achievement of Y schools.

III. *School Staffing*

A major unsolved problem is the reluctance of new teachers to accept appointments or assignments to schools which they regard as difficult. Since many of the X schools have been informally classified as "difficult" by teacher groups, the staffing of X schools has often presented a greater problem than the staffing of Y schools.

However, even more startling than any of the facts above is the evidence that shows only 31 or 1% Negro teachers in 105 Y schools out of a teacher population of 5,424. Only one Puerto Rican teacher is to be found in these schools.

In 109 X schools, there are 1,483 or 33% Negro teachers, 77 or 2% Puerto Rican teachers, and 2,930 or 65% white teachers.

IV. *School Building*

Study of the present new building program indicates that unless and until there is extensive upgrading

of "X" school facilities, there can be no real progress toward equality in school facilities.

Since 1955, an increasing number of schools have been built in segregated neighborhoods. These 26 "newly" segregated schools obviously have not facilitated the enrollment of different ethnic groups. The concern here is that the painful problem of desegregation has been created by these new "X" schools instead of being eliminated. Desegregation of the older "X" schools has proved to be an extremely difficult task even with present programs of Open Enrollment, rezoning practices, and zoning variances. It is significant to note that of the 26 schools, six are junior high schools. The Commission stated that there was a greater possibility of integration at this level; yet, Junior High School 33, Brooklyn, Junior High School 13, Manhattan, Junior High School 117, Manhattan, Junior High School 46, Brooklyn, Junior High School 136, Bronx, and Junior High School 45, Manhattan were constructed. The Sub-Commission Report on Physical Plant and Maintenance held: "Children of junior high school age can easily travel a reasonable distance and, therefore, a location desirable from the point of view of integration is often a practical choice." Unfortunately, however, these recommendations have not been followed and the board of education has built, and is continuing to build, schools which are "newly" segregated and resegregated. More than one third of the public schools now in use were constructed before 1920. In the same period over two-thirds of the elementary schools were constructed. From the years 1955 through 1961 over sixty percent of the "X" elementary schools were constructed and 28 per cent of the "Y" schools. It is evident that since 1955 the Board of Education has been building a great many "X" and "Y" schools with all of the "X" schools being built in the same neighborhoods thus continuing the previous segregated pattern. Most of the existing "Y" schools were constructed after 1920, while the majority of the "X" schools were built prior to 1920.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

1) The Urban League of Greater New York strongly recommends that the board of education prepare and execute a master plan designed to integrate all schools and, at the same time, to raise achievement levels in all schools.

2) The Urban League of Greater New York recommends that the board of education take full responsibility for the assignment of pupils and teachers for the execution of the master plan for integration.

I. *RAISING THE LEVEL OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT*

The Urban League of Greater New York recommends that:

1) the board of education provide a stronger guidance program which will encourage and enable pupils of varying backgrounds to attain high academic achievement levels;

2) the board of education continue its progressive policy of establishing school-based experimental projects such as study and cultural centers; and that it broaden its work in this area by setting up similar projects in strategically located school evening centers (e.g., seven in Harlem, seven in Brooklyn, six in Bronx, four in Queens) basically aimed at the involvement of those youths, who by dropping out of school, are in danger of becoming culturally, educationally and economically "depressed" as well as "deprived" of the opportunity to function as useful, constructive components of our society;

3) the board of education initiate a series of programs adapted

to individual elementary schools, including two or three supplementary classes in reading, English skills, and mathematics (where it is necessary to lighten the school day and to pay teachers for extra hours this should be done;

4) each elementary school prepare a syllabus for reading (general improvements), language arts, English skills and mathematics, science and social studies, with curriculum and tutoring suggestions for parents, agencies, and groups such as the Fordham Catholic Interracial Council and the Harlem Educational Tutorial Project;

5) there be an immediate concentrated city-wide effort to develop text books which realistically reflect the contributions of the varied ethnic groups in American society;

6) the New York City public school system should review intelligence testing policies to insure that Negroes and Puerto Rican children have equality of opportunity in the school learning programs.

II. *PHYSICAL FACILITIES*

The Urban League of Greater New York recommends that:

1) the board of education continue to modernize and repair school buildings located in predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican areas;

2) the board of education should make special efforts to incorporate the newest educational design features in all buildings which are constructed in congested areas.

III. *SCHOOL STAFFING AND PERSONNEL*

The Urban League of Greater New York strongly recommends that:

1) Negro and Puerto Rican teachers be given additional positions which provide experiences helpful in preparing for administrative licensing requirements;

2) the racial imbalance of regularly licensed teachers in all *de facto* segregated schools be corrected as soon as possible;

3) the Bureau of Teacher Recruitment of New York City public schools in cooperation with the board of examiners expand with imagination and intensity their present recruitment efforts of out-of-city testing programs to secure more Negro and Puerto Rican personnel from southern colleges and non-urban centers;

4) that the board of education expand the program for practice teachers so that, first, practice teachers will be encouraged to train in schools where Negro and Puerto Rican children are predominantly enrolled; and second, Negro and Puerto Rican practice teachers will work in schools which have a high ratio of white children;

5) the position master-teacher be developed for the training and orientation of newly assigned and experienced teachers working in different schools;

6) the elimination of all proposals for bonus or "combat" pay for teachers in "hard to staff" schools;

7) "in-service training" courses in urban sociology, social class structure and differentiation, and racial attitudes be required of all teachers, principals and supervisors in the school system, new and experienced, substitute and regular.

IV. *ZONING AND INTEGRATION*

The Urban League of Greater New York recommends that:

1) the Central Zoning Unit be given additional staff mem-

bers and more authority to determine overall zone lines;

2) more creative ways of zoning be developed including utilization, open enrollment, the use of feeder patterns, (Princeton Plan), additional high school zoning variances, cross districting, cross busing of white children into heavily populated Negro and Puerto Rican schools, and broader use of all means of public transportation;

3) zoning for total integration be started immediately in accordance with a master plan which will include long-range features such as educational parks;

4) total integration of all junior high schools must be undertaken by September, 1964;

5) although this report does not deal specifically with the vocational, academic, and special high schools, all high schools, not requiring tests, must be immediately rezoned in so far as is practicable to provide maximum integration.

V. *EDUCATION STIMULATION PROGRAM*

The Urban League of Greater New York recommends that:

1) steps be taken to strengthen the Higher Horizons program; (a) An immediate increase in budget to strengthen the program and to eliminate basic weaknesses in the program in individual schools; (b) the addition of supplementary funds to the program each year until it becomes in actuality a demonstration guidance project for all students; (c) the strengthening of the authority of the coordinating consultants of the current Higher Horizons programs; and (d) a research evaluation of all aspects of the Higher Horizons programs.

2) the board of education accept increased responsibility for the problems of young people who drop out of school and that supportive and constructive programs be developed to encourage more young people to secure their high school diplomas.

VI. *SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS*

The Urban League of Greater New York recommends that:

1) the board of education utilize the talents, skills and knowledge of existing local organizations and agencies in the intergroup relations field to accelerate effors to complete integration of all public schools;

2) the board of education expand its informal adult educational programs in each local school district so that local communities will be able to identify, study, and solve problems concerning school integration;

3) the board of education, in order to implement the integration programs, make determined efforts to secure additional funds from city, state, and private sources.

Many professionals self-pretend a positive attitude towards low-income people when they don't have it. They are told they should, and they make some modification so that they (and others) may think they have a positive orientation. For many, I believe, it is unlikely that their attitudes will importantly change unless they are made to recognize what their basic attitudes are. Easy shifting to a new, more positive attitude without undergoing stress, strain, anxiety, and conflict usually denotes that only a lip-change has occurred.

—S. M. Miller,
Syracuse University